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Description of, and deductions from a consideration of, some new Bactrian coins. By Lieut. ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, *Engineers.*

There are but few notices of Bactrian history to be found in ancient authors; and some even, of those few, do not agree: so that we are compelled, in the absence of historical aid, to examine the numismatology of Bactria, as Butter's philosophers examined the moon, by its own light. And thus a good cabinet of the coins of the Bactrian princes, is to an experienced numismatist

"——— A famous history ..... enroll'd,
In everlasting monuments of brass—"

from which he may draw the data for a chronological arrangement of those princes, many of whom are "of dynasties unknown to history." In this paper, however, I shall confine myself to a notice of the pieces figured in the accompanying plate, merely adding such inferences as a careful examination of the coins has suggested to me.

No. 1. A round copper coin of large size, and of brittle metal, of middling execution, and in fair preservation.

Obverse. Figure of Apollo standing half turned to the right, with the chlamys falling behind, and a quiver at his shoulder; holding in his left hand an arrow pointed downwards, his right hand resting on the arrow. Legend in three lines ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ; "(coin) of the saviour king Apollodotus."

Reverse. A tripod;—legend in Bactrian Pali 𐨨𐨪𐨿𐨨 𐨪𐨿𐨣𐨪𐨿𐨣𐨿𐨫𐨿𐨣 𐨨𐨪𐨿𐨨𐨿𐨫𐨿𐨣, *Maharajasa trádatasa Apálàdatasa;* "(coin) of the great

king Apollodotus, the saviour." I have ventured to render the Bactrian Pali equivalent of Soteros, in a new way, which appears to me to give the exact meaning of the Greek word. It will be seen that at the foot of the initial letter, there is a stroke backwards, which, from its occurrence in the name of Eucratidas, and in the word *putrasa*, for the Sanskrit पुत्रस्य, must be the letter R in composition, thus making the word *trâ-datasa*, or "of the giver of *trân* (S. त्राण) safety," i. e. "the saviour." In the field are two Bactrian Pali characters, which I read as *i* and *t*; the former of these is found only on this coin, and on No. 2 of Colonel Stacy's new coins (see J. A. S. of Bengal for April, 1839, p. 344,) which I will hereafter show to belong to the family of Undopherras.

This piece is of the same type as the well known round coins of Apollodotus; but it differs from them in being of inferior execution, in having its legend disposed in three straight lines, instead of around the piece, and in its monogramatic characters, the principal of which, by its after occurrence on an undoubted Parthian coin of the family of Undopherras, leads me to assign the mintage of this piece to some place in Ariana, south of Bactria Proper and of the Indian Caucasus, and to extend the rule of Apollodotus from the Paropamisus to Patalene, and perhaps even to Barugaza, where we know that his drachmas were current more than two hundred years afterwards.

Various places have been assigned to Apollodotus in the list of Bactrian princes, none of which have received any general assent; and as the only passages in which he is mentioned by ancient authors, give no clue for fixing his proper rank amongst the kings of Bactria, we must be content to see our way by the light glimmering

"On narrow coins through dim cerulean rust,"

which has led me to the conclusion, that Apollodotus was the son of Eucratidas the great king; this opinion, which I offer with much diffidence, is founded upon the following facts:—

First.—The common round drachmas of Apollodotus bear the title of Philopater, which title M. Jacquet conjectured would declare his father to have been of royal origin, for had he been in a private station, his son would not have paid him so striking an honor. M. Raoul-Rochette says, that this conjecture appears very plausible, and he adds, "but there is something more to be remarked here, which is, that on the coins of the

kings of this part of the East, especially on those of the Arsacidæ, *the epithet of Philopater indicates the association of a son in the royal title of the father.*" From this M. Raoul-Rochette supposes that Apollodotus was the son of Menander, and that he was associated in the government with his father, and consequently took the title of Philopater in addition to the epithet of saviour, which was common to both princes. The opinion of so eminent an antiquary as M. R. Rochette, must always command respect, even when it fails to produce conviction; and did not the facts which have led me to a different conclusion seem particularly strong and clear, I should certainly hesitate in dissenting from one, in every way so well qualified to judge. Now it appears from the quotation given above, that the epithet of Philopater indicates the association of a son in the royal title of his father; and we know from Justin (lib. 41. c. 6,) that Eucratidas had made his son "a partner in his kingdom;" from which it results almost conclusively, that Apollodotus, who was the only prince that bore the title of Philopater, must have been the son of Eucratidas, the only king who is recorded to have associated his son in the Bactrian kingdom with himself.

Second.—The rarity of the coins bearing the title of Philopater in comparison with the other coins of Apollodotus, would seem to prove that these pieces were all struck during his association in the government with his father, on their return from the Indian conquests; and that after having murdered Eucratidas, he dropped the title of "lover of his father," which to have continued would have been ridiculous, as well as an outrage upon humanity. Now we know that this unnatural son gloried in the murder, and, "as if he had slain an enemy, and not his father, he both drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be thrown out unburied;" which circumstance most satisfactorily accounts for the comparative scarcity of the coins of Apollodotus, which bear the title of Philopater; for had the murderer wished to have concealed his crime, he would certainly not have dropped the title of lover of his father, but would rather have published it on all his coins, as a presumptive proof of his innocence; we also know that the coins bearing this title are found mostly in the Punjab, and some even in India, while none were found by Mr. Masson in the classic site of Beghram; which facts serve still more strongly to establish my

opinion, that these coins of Apollodotus Philopater were struck during his association in the government with his father Eucratidas, on their return from the Indian expedition. Now the square drachmas of this prince, which has the elephant and the Indian humped bull, are common at Beghram and in the valley of the Kabul river, as well as in the Punjab ; and thus they would seem to have been struck by this parricidal prince after the murder of his father, in commemoration of the Indian victory.

Third.—The partiality of Eucratidas for "the god of Love and Poesie and Light" is proved by the frequent occurrence of the figure of Apollo as the reverse of his tetradrachms, and by the laurelled head of Apollo found on the round copper coin of this prince, belonging to the Austrian cabinet; and nothing could be more natural in one, whose favourite and patron deity was the glorious sun, than to call his child *Apollo-dotus*, "the gift of Apollo ;" and we may even suppose that the birth of this child was the fulfilment of some prayer, made to the patron god.

Fourth.—The figure of Apollo is portrayed on the square copper coins of Apollodotus, standing exactly in the same attitude as that in which he is figured on many of the tetradrachms of Eucratidas, which is worthy of notice, as it establishes a close numismatic connexion between the coins of these two princes.

Such are the facts which prove, in my opinion, the relationship between Eucratidas and Apollodotus ; and my conclusion is still further borne out by the evident inferiority of the round Philopater drachmas to the square drachmas bearing the elephant and the Indian humped bull, which remarkable difference may be easily accounted for, by the fact, that the Philopater coins must have been struck by less skilful workmen, during the return from the Indian expedition; while the square drachmas, which are of superior execution, of bold relief, and of most beautiful make, would have been coined by the best artists in the metropolis of Bactria.

No. 2. A round copper coin, of large size, of middling make, and in fair preservation.

Obverse. Figure of Apollo standing half turned to the right; the chlamys falling behind, and a quiver at his shoulder, holding in his left hand an arrow pointed downwards ; his right hand raised

and resting on the tail of the arrow. In the field behind the figure, there is a small elephant to the right. Legend disposed circularly ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖωΙΛΟΥ; "(coin) of the saviour king Zöilus."

Reverse. A tripod. In the field to the left the Bactrian letter *t*, and to the right the letter *a*. Legend disposed circularly 𐨟𐨪𐨫𐨟 𐨪𐨫𐨪𐨟𐨪𐨯, *Maharajasa trádatasa Johilasa;* "(coin) of the great king Zöilus, the saviour."

The identity of this piece, in type, size, and make, with the round copper coins of Apollodotus, would seem to point out some close connexion between these two princes, which is further strengthened by the appearance of the elephant in the field of this coin, a type of most common occurrence on the silver coins of Apollodotus, and on the square copper coins of Heliocles, the grandfather of Apollodotus; on whose coins the elephant occupies the whole field of the piece, but on the coin of Zöilus is reduced to a mere symbol. The appearance of an elephant on this unique coin of a new prince, taken in conjunction with the identity of its type with another of the coins of Apollodotus, induces me to hazard a conjecture that Zöilus may have been a son of Apollodotus, and have succeeded his father for a short time on the throne of Bactria. For it appears to me scarcely possible that Apollodotus, whose coins are not very common, should have reigned from 148 B. C., the period assigned for the murder of Eucratidas, till 126. B. C., when the Bactrian empire was overthrown by the Scythians. I suppose that Apollodotus after having assisted Demetrius Nicator of Syria in his successful expedition against the Parthians, in B. C. 142, was finally defeated, and perhaps slain, by the Parthians under Arsaces, 6th Mithridates, about B. C. 140—at which time Mithridates having made Demetrius prisoner, is said to have extended his arms from the Euphrates to the Hydaspes. Upon the death of Mithridates, in B. C. 136, I suppose Menander to have established himself in the provinces south of the Caucasus, and to have added India beyond the Hypanis to his dominions, while Bactria Proper and Sogdiana were overwhelmed by an irruption of the Scythians in 126 B. C.

No. 3. A round copper piece plated with silver, of the size of a drachma. It is Horace who observes that "a good and wise man is not ignorant *(quid distent æra lupinis)* of the difference between

true coins and counterfeits;" hence we may easily discern that this coin is a forgery, although an ancient one, for it was found amongst a heap of rusty pieces of copper, completely covered with indurated clay, and as no price was given for it, it is certain that it is not a forgery of modern manufacture; for where no money return was expected, there could be no inducement to go to the expence and trouble of making a false coin. The plating of the edges and of the letters is now worn off, and the letters appear sunk in the copper, amid the silver plating. The piece is of good Grecian workmanship, and is similar in all respects to the tetradrachms of Antimachus, already known.

Obverse. Head of the king in the Macedonian helmet to the right, the ends of the diadem floating behind the head.

Reverse. The figure of Neptune standing to the front, holding in his right hand a trident, and in his left a palm branch. Legend in two lines βασιλεΩΣ θεου ANTIMAχου; "(coin of the king) Antimachus (theus)." Monogram in the field composed probably of the same letters XO, which appear on the tetradrachm belonging to Colonel Taylor, the British Resident at Bagdad. The same monogram with a square ☐ occurs frequently on the coins of Azes. M. Raoul-Rochette remarks upon the coins of this prince, that the titles of Theus and of Nicephorus, were *both* borne by Antiochus, 4th Epiphanes, and also that the figure of Victory found on the common drachmas of Antimachus was a type known on the coins of the same Syrian prince, from which remarkable coincidences, he justly concludes that the Bactrian prince Antimachus must have flourished at the same time as the Syrian king Antiochus, 4th Epiphanes, or about 170 B. C., and from the total absence of his coins in the classic ruins of Beghram, he deduces that Antimachus must have reigned north of the Caucasus. In all these observations, which are as just as they are acute, I most willingly concur; but I cannot say that I perceive even the faintest resemblance between the tetradrachms of Antimachus and those of Heliocles, although the same able numismatist has observed a strong likeness. M. Raoul-Rochette likewise supposes that the type of Neptune on the reverse, probably alludes to some naval victory, where Antimachus may have assisted Antiochus of Syria; which event he thinks is still further declared by the type of Victory found on the common drachmas of this prince.

The date of 170 B. C., would make Antimachus contemporary with Eucratidas; and the absence of his coins at Beghram, would point out the ancient Sogdiana as the territory probably ruled by him—which probability is rendered still stronger by the knowledge which we derive from Justin, that this country did not belong to the dominions of Eucratidas. It is not too much then to suppose, that it was during the reign of this king Antimachus, that the Bactrians "were worn out by wars with the *Sogdians*, Drangians, and Indians," as related by the same author; and that as a monument of their success, Antimachus impressed the figure of Victory upon his coins, and assumed the title of Nicephorus. As a further proof that these two princes were contemporaries, I will cite the analogies that we find in their coins, which are the earliest specimens, save a few square copper coins of Heliocles, that bear legends in Bactrian Pali; and it is a peculiarity remarkable in the coins of these princes, that we find no Bactrian Pali legends on their silver coins, excepting on those drachmas of Antimachus which are of a much lighter weight, indicating most probably a later period of his reign; for Antimachus assumed the Macedonian helmet, and most likely affected to disdain the Bactrian customs and language, in the earlier part of his reign. Here then we have two contemporary princes, Antimachus of Sogdiana, and Eucratidas of Bactriana, whose coins exhibit the two distinct characteristics found in the numismatology of Bactria—namely, coins bearing Greek inscriptions only, and those bearing both Greek and Bactrian Pali legends. These facts establish the certainty that these two princes must occupy places in their respective dynasties between the kings who used Greek inscriptions only, and those who used both Greek and Bactrian Pali legends, and this rank agrees exactly with that already assigned to these princes upon other grounds. Hence we may safely infer that Philoxenes in Sogdiana, and Apollodotus and Menander in Bactriana, must be subsequent to Antimachus and to Eucratidas; and that the numerous other princes whose names have been made known to us by bilingual coins only, must likewise be subsequent to these two kings, Antimachus and Eucratidas, whose coins form a transition series between those using the Greek language only, and those which bear legends in both languages.

No. 4. A silver piece of the size of a drachma, of beautiful workmanship, and in excellent preservation.

Obverse. Head of the king helmeted to the right; the ends of the diadem floating behind the head, and the chlamys fastened on the shoulder. The helmet on this coin is similar to that found on many of the coins of Menander and of Eucratidas, and more especially to that found on the beautiful didrachm of Philoxenes—and differs from the Macedonian helmet, which is found on all the known coins of Antialcidas. Legend, disposed circularly, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ; "(coin) of the King Antialcidas, the victorious."

Reverse. The Olympian Jupiter seated, and slightly turned to the left. In his left hand is a sceptre; and in his outstretched right hand is a figure of Victory, which extends a chaplet to the left in one hand, and holds a palm in the other; to the left, and under the figure of Victory, is the forepart of an elephant, similar to that found on the common drachmas of this prince, but in a contrary direction, for on this coin it is portrayed facing the figure of Jupiter; a Grecian monogram in the field composing KAM, and differing from all the monograms yet found on the coins of this prince. The monogram as represented in the plate is faulty, and should have under the cross stroke of the A, thus making the monogram as I have read it; legend in Bactrian characters 𐨪𐨪𐨫𐨿 𐨪𐨪𐨴𐨯𐨬𐨿 𐨪𐨪𐨟𐨁 *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa;* "(coin) of the great King Antialcidas, the victorious." It is worthy of remark, that this coin weighs only 35 grains, or a little more than a hemidrachma: but the best preserved drachmas of the common type of Antimachus weigh only 41 grains, and these light weights betoken a period subsequent to Eucratidas, whose drachmas are of the Grecian standard weight.

No. 5. A round copper coin of middle size, of good execution, and in fair preservation.

Obverse. A head bearded and wreathed, looking to the right, the shoulders and bust bare, the right hand grasping a thunderbolt, as if about to hurl it forwards. Circular legend ΒΑΣΙΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗ-ΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ; "(coin) of the victorious king Antialcidas." This bearded and wreathed head is no doubt that of Jupiter Nicephorus, whose figure forms the only reverse of all the known silver coins of Antialcidas. Here we have more of the bust than on the square copper coins of this prince; and the hand grasping the thunderbolt, which projects across the neck, shows that the undecided object, indifferently called "a palm, a thyrsus, or a club," which is

found in the same position on the square copper coins of Antialcidas, is most probably only a thunderbolt; and as the head on these coins of Antialcidas, as well as on the similar square copper coins of Lysias, is undoubtedly bearded, I think we may safely infer that it represents Jupiter Nicephorus, and not the prince himself.

Reverse. The caps of the Dioscuri, surmounted by the stars Castor and Pollux, with two palms placed between them; in the field below is a monogram which seems to be composed of the letter MOI. Legend in Bactrian Pali, disposed circularly, 𐨪𐨫𐨯𐨪𐨿𐨪𐨬𐨪[𐨪]𐨬𐨁𐨪 𐨪𐨫𐨪𐨬𐨪𐨭, *Maharajasa jayadha(rasa) Antialikidasa;* "(coin) of the victorious great king Antialcidas."

This same type of the caps of the Dioscuri is found on many of the coins of Eucratidas, both in silver and in copper, and also on one copper coin of Lysias. The make of the square copper coins of Antialcidas, which is precisely similar to that of the square coins of Lysias, is totally different from that of all the square coins of Eucratidas, which I have seen; and this being the case, I do not suppose that the identity of type indicates any connexion between these princes—but merely proves that Antialcidas must be nearly contemporary with Eucratidas, or perhaps a little later, for all his coins yet found, both in silver and in copper, have bilingual inscriptions. With Lysias, however, I suppose the connexion to be closely and clearly indicated, for the coins of these two princes are identical in type, shape, and appearance, and also in thickness. The numismatic relations between this prince and Antimachus are striking and obvious; both princes wear the Macedonian helmet, which is likewise worn by Amyntas on a beautiful drachma in the possession of Dr. Chapman, and both take the same title of Nicephorus: both have the figure of Victory upon their coins, and both occasionally employ the same monograms; all which coincidences lead me to assign to Antialcidas a rank in the same dynasty with Antimachus and Philoxenes, and immediately following the latter prince, or about B. C. 150 to 140.

The princes whose coins I am next to notice are of uncertain origin, not one of them having a purely Greek name. On the early coins of this class, however, the names are expressed clearly enough in Grecian characters, but on the coins of the later princes the names expressed in corrupted Greek characters are doubtful, and vary on different

specimens of the same king, while the name in Bactrian Pali on the reverse remains constant and unchanged; hence, as a man who carries a string through the mazes of a labyrinth, is, on his returning ignorant of the way, guided by that which he had before conducted, or as a father who directs his child in youth, is in his declining old age guided by that child; so do we find that the Greek names which had been our guide during the infancy of our study of the Bactrian Pali, are now in their turn, consequent on the decline and corruption of the Grecian language, elucidated by our more matured knowledge of the language of Bactria. It will be of advantage to bear this in mind, for the amount of corruption and barbarism to be found in each name expressed in Greek characters, will be of singular value in determining the relative route of these later princes, whose names truly and correctly expressed in the native character, will enable us not only to correct the bad Greek version of the coins, but perhaps also to assist in identifying them with princes of the same names, mentioned by native authors.

No. 6. A round copper coin of small size, of good workmanship, and in defective preservation.

Obverse. The Sinha, or maneless Indian lion, walking to the right, differing from the usual representation of this animal on the coins of Azas, in having one of the fore legs raised. In the field a Bactrian monogram. Legend disposed circularly, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ; "(coin) of the great king of kings, Azas."

Reverse. A female figure standing half turned to the left, holding in her left hand an object, which may be the horn of Plenty, and extending in the right hand an undecided object, which from a comparison with other coins is, I suspect, a small figure of Victory, holding out a chaplet. In the field to the right is a Bactrian monogram forming *ti*, and on the other side an indistinct object. Legend disposed circularly, 𐨨𐨪𐨁 𐨟𐨗𐨪𐨟 𐨟𐨗𐨪𐨁𐨟𐨗𐨪𐨟, *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Ayasa*; "(coin) of the great king, the king of kings, the mighty Aja." Two very imperfect specimens of this type were published by Mr. Prinsep in the 2nd vol. of his Journal, (figs. 11 and 12, plate vii.) but he was unable to recognize them at that early period of our knowledge.

No. 7. A square copper coin of middle size of good execution, and in excellent preservation.

Obverse. The king mounted upon a two humped Bactrian camel, walking to the right, with a bow at his back, and extending in his right hand a cross over the head of the camel. Inscription in four lines as in the preceding.

Reverse. The humped Indian bull, walking to the right, the upper part of the legs very thick, as if covered with long shaggy hair. Inscription on three sides 𐨀𐨪𐨿 𐨟𐨪𐨗𐨿 𐨪𐨗𐨿 𐨟𐨪𐨗𐨿, *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa;* "(coin) of the great king, the king of kings, the mighty Aja."

A specimen of this type has already appeared in the London Numismatic Journal; on that coin, however, there is a monogram composed of the letters ⊏ and ×, while this coin has no monogram of any kind.

The Bactrian camel is figured on this piece in a much better style than on the round copper coins of this prince. These pieces would seem to form part of a series of coins struck by Azas, or Aja, to show the extent of his kingdom by the exhibition of animals characteristic of the different countries under his rule; the elephant and humped bull of India, the double-humped camel of Bactria, and perhaps the shaggy long haired bull of Tibet. The total absence of his coins at Beghram, proves that his rule did not embrace the country around Kabul, while the abundance of his coins found at Bajâwur, in the Punjab, and in the lower hills south of Kashmeer, taken in conjunction with the various animals displayed upon these coins, clearly show that his authority extended over the ancient Pencelaotis, and over the kingdoms of Taxiles and of Porus, embracing the whole country from the Jellalabad river to the country beyond the Hypanis, bounded to the north by the Indus, and to the south by the Ocean.

That his reign was a long one, is evinced by the variety and abundance of his coins, which form the most numerous and most complete, as well as the most interesting series of Bactrian coins yet discovered. His name, as it is written in the Bactrian Pali, is a genuine Hindoo appellation, being either *Ayu*, or more probably *Aja*, the *y* and *j* being permutable letters; and I incline strongly to connect him with the prince whose coins bear the legends of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ and of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ; for this name is certainly not a Greek one, while, on the other hand, it is a classical Hindoo name, as *Maya* (the son of Karryapa by Dana) which would be

rendered in Greek by MAYAΣ, adding the Σ to form the Grecian termination. Here then we have coins of two princes, with genuine Hindoo names, written in the Greek character, and with types almost all relating to India, some of which are of the highest interest, and of the greatest value. The Indian origin of these two princes is further declared in the plainest and most obvious manner by their being represented on their coins seated in the Indian fashion—(see fig. 11, pl. xxi. vol. iv. and figs. 12, 13, pl. xxii. vol. iv. Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal), and their Indian Government is shown by the absence of their coins at Beghram, and by their abundance in the Punjab.

I suppose these two princes to have reigned in the Punjab at the same time with Hermæus in Kabul; a supposition which is rendered extremely probable by the localities in which their coins are found, as well as by their style of execution, which betrays a declining period of Grecian art. The coins of Hermæus, which abound at Beghram, are rarely met with in the Punjab, which fact serves to point out the position of his kingdom in as clear a manner as could be wished. Now Hermæus must have been posterior to Apollodotus and to Menander, both of whom bear the same title of Soter, which Hermæus affects; and as both Apollodotus and Menander possessed the Punjab, it is equally certain that Maya and Aja, who ruled in the Punjab, must likewise have been subsequent to Apollodotus and Menander, and therefore contemporary, or nearly so, with Hermæus, or about 100 B. C. I have much more to offer regarding Aja (or Azes), but I will reserve it for a longer account of these princes, which I am now engaged upon. I may, however, notice here a passage from Caius Julius Solinus, regarding the Bactrian camel. In chap. lii. he says "Bactri camelos fortissimos mittunt, licet et Arabia plurimos gignat. Verum hoc differunt, quod *Arabici bina tubera* in dorso habent, *singula Bactriani.*" This gross error has probably arisen from a transposition of the words; but it is nevertheless sufficient to put us on our guard against the assertions of ancient authors, no matter how clear and positive they may be; and to make us exclaim with Hudibras—

> —— Alas! what is't t'us
> Whether t'was said by Trismegistus,
> If it be nonsense, false, or mystic,
> Or not intell'gible or sophistic,
> T'is not antiquity nor author
> That makes Truth Truth, although Time's daughter.

No. 8. A round copper coin of middle size, of fair make, and in defective preservation.

Obverse. Figure of the king on horseback to the right; his right hand raised, and extended to the front. In the field in front of the horse a symbol which may be either a stiff representation of the caduceus, which is found on the coins of Maya, or it may be a monogram composed of the Indian Pali letters *m* and *n.*; the former is, I think, the more probable. Inscription in corrupted Greek, very imperfect, BACIΛЄC (sic) BACIΛЄΨN MЄΓA.....YNΔO..... "(coin) of the great kings of kings Undapherras."

Reverse. A figure, probably of Victory, walking to the right, her right hand extended to the front, and holding out an indistinct object, which is possibly intended for a chaplet; her left hand holding a spear. In the field to the right a square monogram, apparently composing X□Y, to the left a Bactrian monogram formed of the Bactrian characters *mi* and *sr* probably. Legend in Bactrian Pali, 𐨨𐨪𐨿𐨪 𐨨𐨪𐨿𐨪 𐨨𐨪𐨿𐨪𐨿𐨪𐨿𐨪𐨿𐨪, *Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa Andopharasa;* "(coin) of the great king, the king of kings, the mighty Andophara."

This coin only slightly differs from that published by Mr. Prinsep in his Journal for July 1838, No. 14; and is almost the same as that figured in the Numismatic Journal of London, No. — of plate 3, which Professor Wilson has given to Azes, but which is undoubtedly a coin of Undopherras or Andophara.

The coins of this prince, which I have seen, are of three different types, all exhibiting very different styles of execution; some being of fair workmanship with good Grecian letters, whilst others are utterly barbarous. These facts, which show, by the variety of mintage, the numerous mints established by this prince, likewise show the wide extent of his rule.

The name of Undopherras, which has a striking affinity to the well know Persian names of Phrataphernes, Dataphernes, Radhaphernes, and Tissaphernes, and more particularly to Intaphernes, would lead us to suppose him to be a Parthian, or a Persian; a supposition which is almost established by the evident Parthian type of the coins of this prince (or of one of his direct descendants) published by Colonel Stacy (Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1839). His name is spelt on some speci-

mens Undopharas, which agrees much better with the Bactrian Pali reading of Andophara, than the usual spelling of Undopherras.

His coins, which are common at Beghram, and of frequent occurrence over all Ariana, are but rarely met with in the Punjab. These localities point out the extent of the kingdom of Undopherras, which must have embraced the Paropamisus, with Aria, Drangiana, and Arachosia, and most probably also Gedrosia, a territory bordering on Parthia, and which belonged occasionally to the Parthian empire itself, but separated from it by the natural boundaries of the great salt desert "and the vast Carmanian waste." This was the most eastern province of the Parthian empire during its most flourishing period, and after the defeat and death of Phraates 2nd, and of his successor Artabanus by the Scythians, and the consequent destruction of the empire, and after the commencement of the distant western wars with the Romans, and with Tigranes 1st of Armenia, which drained the eastern provinces of Parthia of all the forces necessary to keep them in subjection; no position could be more favorable, no circumstances more tempting for successful revolt, and for the establishment of an independent monarchy. Now from the evidence furnished by the coins of Abalgasa, we may deduce two positions of much value to our argument; *first*, Abalgasa, or Abalgasus, who calls himself the son of Undopherras, would seem, from the similarity of his name to the well-known names of Æb-azus, Bacab-azus, Pharnab-azus, and Artab-azus, to have been of a Persian or Parthian family; thus strengthening the supposition which I have already advanced, regarding his father Undopherras, that he was of Persian or Parthian family; and, *second*, that Undopherras, or Andophara, was most probably the first of his family, who had enjoyed *sovereign* power, as his coins make no mention of his father. Hence we may not unreasonably suppose that this Undopherras, the founder of monarchy in his own family, was a Persian Satrap placed over the eastern provinces of the Parthian empire, about 80 B. C., and that he profited by the disturbed state of the country to make himself independent. This supposition is much strengthened by the fact, that the walled town of Furrah, which is surrounded by ancient ruins, is in the midst of the countries in which this prince's coins most abound; and it may very possibly have been the capital of Andophara and of his dynasty; for this town was called *Parra* by the Greeks,

and I believe also *Phra;* although its native name was more likely *Phara* (or Furrah), and in support of this being the true reading, I may adduce the following quotation from Lycophron (Cass. v. 1428).

———κιμμερος θ'ὁτως
Σκια καλυψει Περραν, αμβλυνων σελας,

in which the word Perras, used to signify "the sun," is only a Hellenized form of the Egyptian Phra or Phara; and hence we may conclude that Undopherras is only a Grecian rendering of Andophara (or Andophra) the very name which is found in the Bactrian Pali legends of the reverses of his coins.

To omit nothing that may possibly be of use to us in elucidating the history of this prince, known only by our coins, I will add my conjecture that Undopherras, or Indopherras, may very probably have been a descendant of Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators against the Magian Smerdis. The names do not differ nearly so much in their spelling, as the names of Orientals generally do, when written by Europeans of different ages and nations; and we have already seen that the same word *Phra* or *Phara* has been rendered both by *Parra* and by Perras. We know besides, that the name of Darius descended in his family to the time of Alexander; and also that the name of Megabyzus, another of the seven conspirators descended to his grandson; while the name of his son Zopyrus was transmitted to his great-grandson as related by Herodotus. Here then we have evidence that the Persians, as well as the Greeks, called their children not by the father's, but by the grandfather's names, a custom which is still prevalent all over India, thus transmitting a name by alternate generations; hence if our Undopherras was descended from Intaphernes, the conspirator, it must have been about the 17th generation. Now Intaphernes was put to death by Darius soon after the death of Smerdis, or about 520 B. C.; at which time the *eldest* son of Intaphernes, the only one of his children spared, may have been ten years of age, making his birth in 530 B. C. from which 15 generations of 30 years, or 450 years being deducted, leave 80 B. C. for the birth of Undopherras, making him about 25 years of age when he assumed independence. This is indeed only a conjecture, but it is one so interesting, and also so plausible, that we may wish it, though we cannot prove it, to be true.

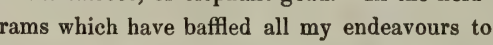
Nos. 9 *and* 10. Round copper coins of middle size, of fair make, and in fair preservation.

Obverse. Figure of the king on horseback to the left; the king's face half inclined to the front; the ends of the diadem floating behind; the right hand raised, and extended to the front; in the field before the horse the same monogram as on the coin of Undopherras just described. Legend in barbarous Greek—

On No. 9. — ΙΛΕΥ□ΗΓ□Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΒΑΛΓΑΣΙ□ΥΙ
On No. 10. — .. ditto. ditto. ΒΑΒΑΛΓΑΣ□ΛΙ

which I read as ΕΛΕΥ⊡ΗΡ□Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΒΑΛΓΑΣ□Υ "(coin) of the deliverer of kings, Abalgasus," where ΙΛΕΥ⊡ΗΡ⊡Υ is used for ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ. It is indeed quite possible that the doubtful letters may be ΛΔΕΛΦ□ΥΙ□Υ but the plural ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ is against this reading, as well as the Bactrian Pali legend of the reverse. The epithet of *Elentherius,* which I believe is altogether novel in numismatics, is well known as a title of Jupiter; and its substitution for the simpler Soter is quite in accordance with Oriental presumption; and taken in conjunction with the inferiority of the coin, it denotes a lower era of Grecian civilization, and a more flourishing period of the progress of barbarism.

Reverse. A male figure moving to the right, dressed evidently in the Indian *dhoti;* and from the ends of a diadem appearing behind his head, I should suppose him to be a royal personage; the right hand is raised and extended before him, holding out an indistinct object, not unlike the *hankboos,* or elephant goad. In the field are two Bactrian monograms which have baffled all my endeavours to read; the upper portion to the left however looks not unlike a compound of the Grecian letters P and M. In the field of No. 10 there is likewise the Grecian letter B to the left of the figure. Legend in Bactrian Pali,



Maharajasa trádatasa Abagasasa Andophara khudra putrasa;
"(coin) of the great saviour king Abagasa, the younger son of Andophara." In this long and highly interesting legend there are but two doubtful letters immediately before *putrasa:* these two letters I read with some hesitation as *khudra,* the Pali equivalent of the Sanskrit क्षुद्र *kshudra,* which means "younger," and completes the legend more satisfactorily than any other word which I can propose.

A third specimen of the coins of this prince exists in Captain Hay's collection, of which he has kindly sent me impressions. The horseman on his coin is moving to the right, and the Grecian legend I am unable to read even plausibly, some of the letters being rubbed, and two or three lost by a chip in the sealing-wax impression; the legend however differs entirely from that of the coins just described, while the Bactrian Pali legend agrees in every single letter with the legend deciphered above.

Two other coins of this prince, in the collection of Dr. Chapman, of the 16th Lancers, are, through his kindness, now lying before me. One of them is like Captain Hay's coin, and has the horseman to the right, but neither of them is so perfect as the worse coin of the two engraved; and they lend but little assistance towards reading the Grecian legend: one of them has ΙΛΕΥ ... □Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, which agrees with the inscriptions of the engraved coins; and tends to confirm the correctness of my reading of ΙΛΕΥ⊟ ΗΡ□Υ for ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ. The Bactrian Pali legends give no more than the name of the prince and of his father. The only doubtful letter in the name is the third. On No. 10 this letter is 𑀴; being almost the same as our own numeral for five; and this same figure is on Captain Hay's coin. On one of Dr. Chapman's coins however the third letter is 𑀵; being the same as the last, reversed, but on the other coin it is 𑀶; which last is probably the same as the first, much straightened, and precisely what I should suppose would be the written form of the first; the reversed form may easily have occurred from the neglect of the engraver; this reduces all these forms to the first 𑀴; and this character must therefore have the value of the Greek Γ, for there is no appearance of any compounded 𑀦𑀴 *l* in it. If I am right in the value which I have assigned to this letter 𑀴 or 𑀶 as *g*, then must the initial letter of the legend on the coins of Kadaphes Zathus, 𑀷 be *gh*, for it is formed upon the same principle as the *kh*. On one of Dr. Chapman's coins the second letter 𑀦 is inflected with the vowel *á*, which therefore makes the second syllable of the name a long one, *Abágasa*.

On the two coins which have the horseman turned to the right, the monograms of the reverse differ from those shown in the plate. To the left of the figure is a square monogram similar to that which is seen on the coin of Undopherras, No. 8; and to the right is a character

like a badly formed M, surmounted by a large dot, under which, on Captain Hay's coin, is the letter ꞏ, *a;* and on Dr. Chapman's coin a different Bactrian character inflected, but which is too indistinct to be readily deciphered.

The name of Abalgases has an evident affinity to the Parthian ΒΟΛΟΓΑΙΣΗΣ or ΒΟΛΑΓΑΣΗΣ, the Vologases, and Balases of Roman history, of which the original Parthian name was most probably Bálagasa or Bálgasa; for the Pehlevi inscription on a Sassanian gem was read by Ouseley as "*Balgezi Yezdani,*" Vologases, the divine; the Balash or Balatsha of Persian historians. I have therefore little hesitation in recording my belief that Abalgases, Bologaises, and Balgezi are but different spellings of one original name—Bálgasa or Abálgasa.

This naturally leads me to the consideration of whether this prince was one of the Parthian kings of that name, or another independent prince of the same age and nation; which latter appears to be much the more probable. In my remarks upon the coins of Azas, I have already shown that there was an independent dynasty of princes reigning near Kabul, cotemporary with Mayas, and his successors in the Punjab; and this position, which I deduced from an examination of the coins, seems to be pretty clearly established by the following extract from Professor Lassen's article on the Bactrian language; who, quoting Ptolemy, says, "the western half (of Kabulistan) belonged to that nation, whose separate tribes are comprehended under the general name of the Paropamisades; the eastern is numbered with the Indians; but the plain at the lower part of the river is *now* under the power of the Indo-Scythians." By *now*, Ptolemy must of course refer to his own times; but this passage sufficiently proves that the part of the country spoken of had originally belonged to the Indians; most probably under Mayas, Azas, and Azilisas. Now the fair execution of the coins of these princes proves them to have flourished soon after Menander, or about the same time as Hermæus at Beghram near Kabul, that is B. C. 100. Vonones would appear also to have been cotemporary with Azas, from the style and type of his coins, which are similar to those of Azas, who flourished probably in B. C. 80. Again on two of Dr. Chapman's coins, which will soon be published, we have on the Grecian side a name which I read as Spalyrisas, while the reverse has

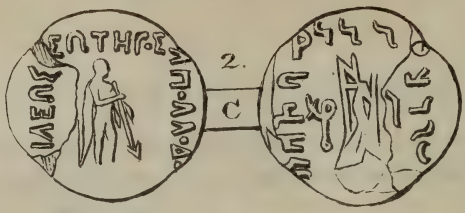
the name of Azas in Bactrian Pali; thus establishing beyond a doubt that these two princes were cotemporaries, and rendering it highly probable that Azas was the son or brother of Spalyrisas, and an associate in the kingdom, or that he was tributary to that prince. Now the coins of Spalirisas have an intimate connexion by their type with the coins of Vonones, which have on the reverse the name of Spalhára, bearing an evident family resemblance to the name of Spalyrisas; and thus affording an additional evidence that Vonones must have been nearly cotemporary with Azas, about 80 B. C., and consequently much anterior to the Parthian Vonones 1st, who reigned in A. D. 4—14.

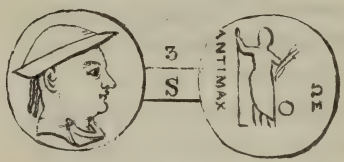
The coins of these Indo-Parthian kings are highly interesting, as they seem to hold out a hope that we may bring the Arsacidan chronology to our aid; but as in the case of Vonones, so also in that of Abalgasus, there appear good reasons for believing that our Indo-Parthian prince was much earlier than the Parthian king Balgasa or Vologases. The general appearance in type, make, and style of characters observable in the coins of Abalgasas and of his father Undopherras, connect these princes too closely with the Indo-Parthian Vonones and his successors Spalyrisas and Spalurmas, to permit the identification, however much we might wish for it. For the Parthian king Vologases 1st did not begin to reign until A. D. 50, which is nearly 100 years later than the period of our Abalgasas, supposing his father Undopherras to have succeeded to the family of Vonones and his successors. Again, the Chinese historians affirm, that in 26 B. C. the Indo-Scythians conquered the whole of Northern India, of which they retained possession until 222 A. D.; and Ptolemy, in describing the extent of the Indo-Scythian empire, says, to use the words of Professor Lassen, that "its main part is situated along both banks of the Indus." Now this is the very country in which the coins of our Vonones and Abalgasus are found; and hence we may almost confidently say, that they must both have flourished before the final conquest of the Indo-Scythians in B. C. 26, and consequently cannot be identified with the Parthian princes of the same names, whose reigns fall within the most brilliant period of the Indo-Scythian rule. Indeed if I have read the Bactrian Pali legend of the coins of Abalgasus rightly, we have the plainest proof that *he* cannot be identified with

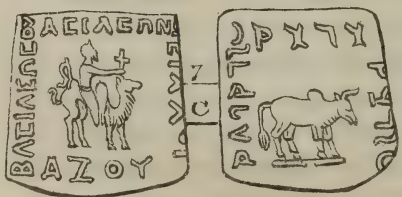
any Parthian prince, unless we suppose his father Undopherras to have been also a king of Parthia; a supposition which would only involve us in still greater difficulties.

There is a curious passage in Tacitus (Ann. lib. XI. c. 10.) which, if true, would almost show that the Parthian arms had not penetrated into the country of the Paropamisades before A. D. 44. In speaking of the successes of Bardanes, who had pushed his conquests beyond the river Sinde, which divided the territories of the Dahæ and the Arians, he adds, "igitur extructis monumentis, quibus opes suas testabatur, nec cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parta, regreditur." Professor Heeron, however, says, that Mithridates 1st extended the frontiers of the Parthian empire as far eastward as the Hydaspes. Tacitus indeed does not say that no former Parthian king had pushed his arms so far; but when he says that none of the Arsacides before Bardanes had taken tribute from those nations, we may suppose that none had before penetrated so far to the eastward; for in all wars, and more especially in those of the east, conquest is followed by exactions, which are usually called by the victors by the milder name of tribute. The authority of Tacitus is also much strengthened by the silence of Justin, who in mentioning the conquests of Mithridates 1st, over the Medians, Hyrcanians, and Elymæans, merely adds "imperiumque Parthorum a monte Caucaso, multis populis in ditionem redactis, usque ad flumen Euphratem protulit."

From these passages therefore it would seem to be almost impossible to identify our Indo-Parthian king with the 1st Vonones, who was one of the predecessors of Bardanes. Professor Lassen, however, supposes him to be the same as the 2nd Vonones, who reigned for a few months only in A. D. 50: but I have already shown that our Vonones must have been nearly cotemporary with Azas, about 80 B. C; as their coins are similar in type, make, and genarel appearance. In addition to which we have the united testimony of the Chinese historians, and of Ptolemy the geographer, in favour of our Vonones having been an independent prince: for they both declare that the country in which his coins are found, was under the dominion of the Indo-Scythians during the reign of the 2nd Vonones of Parthia; but on this subject I shall speak more fully when I come to describe the coins of the Indo-Scythians themselves.

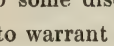
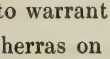






A. Cunningham, del.

When I wrote my notes upon Captain Hay's Bactrian coins, I had not given any attention to the study of the Bactrian Pali characters; my readings of the native legends of those coins were therefore made according to the values assigned to the different letters by my late lamented friend James Prinsep, all the observable differences in my readings having been errors of the press. Had James Prinsep lived, he would long before this have perfected what he had so successfully begun. Since then, however, I have examined not only all the coins within my reach, but also all the engravings published in the Journal des Savants, in the Numismatic Journal, and in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: and after a careful examination of them all, I have been led to some discoveries which appear to me to be of sufficient consequence to warrant their publication.

The name of Undopherras on his own coins is invariably represented in Bactrian Pali by  ; which Mr. Prinsep rendered by Farahatisa; he however doubted the correctness of his own reading, which was based upon an assumed and false value of the initial letter. On the coins of Abalgasus the name of Undopherras is written with a slight variation thus,  ; the turn at the foot of the initial letter being to the left instead of to the right, and the fourth letter being the common *r* instead of the cerebral *r*. Now there are four syllables in the Greek name, and in its Bactrian Pali equivalent there are an equal number of letters, forming with inherent or written vowels the same number of syllables, and consequently agreeing exactly with the Greek name, thus giving us the best possible clue to the value of each of these Bactrian Pali characters, which I will now examine separately.

1st. The first letter is found also as the initial of the name of Agathoclea, in which name it represents the Greek *æ* short. Prof. Lassen has strangely supposed the initial letter to be *m* inflected with the vowel *e*, making the first syllable *me*! In the name of Undopherras this letter stands for a short *u*. It is found also in the middle of the names of Spalurmas, and of Abalgasas, in the former representing *u* short, and in the latter *a* short: for I believe that Abalgasus might with equal correctness have been written Abalgysus, as Megabyzus is always written.

From these four examples of the use of this letter, there results the certainty that it represented the short vowels *a* and *u* of the Greek,

both of which have the sound of the short *a* 𑀅 of Sanskrit, which has the exact pronunciation of the first syllable of the name of Undopherras. Here I may notice that Undopherras, Spalurmas, and Abalgasas are not Greek names, and therefore we ought not to look for the Bactrian Pali equivalents of the Greek letters used in expressing their names; but we should reverse the process, and seek for the Grecian equivalents of the native characters: for the Greek names vary on many of the coins of these later princes, while the native names are always the same; and this is more especially the case with the coins of Spalurmas, which exhibit the different Greek versions of Spalurion, Spalumon, and Palurman; the last being found on an unpublished coin belonging to Captain Hutton, which wants only the initial *S* to make the name perfect. The same letter which is found initial in Agathoclea and in Undopherras, is here found medial; and by my discovery of its true value, I am able to correct the various corrupted Greek versions by the native name, which remains always the same. The characters are five, 𐨪𐨫𐨯𐨭𐨲; of which the first is an evident compound of 𐨪 and 𐨯 or *sp*; the second letter is *l*; the fourth *r*; and the last *m*; wherefore the third letter can only be *u*, used as the initial of the latter half of the name, and thus the whole name becomes clearly *Spal-urma*, or with the Grecian termination Spalurmas, of which the genitive would be Spalurmon; and this last we may easily discover with but slight alterations in the different Greek versions.

The turn at the foot of the initial letter in the name of Undopherras, I suppose to represent *n*, making the initial syllable 𐨤𐨪, for one foot turn to the left is exactly the same as that which is found at the foot of the initial letter in the names of Antimachus and Antialcidas, where it unquestionably represents *n*.

2nd. The second and fourth letters of the name of Undopherras are the same, one of them being merely inflected. To this letter Mr. Prinsep assigned the value of *r*, which is correct: but I am prepared to show that it has also another value, and that it represents the cerebral 𑀡 *d* of the Sanskrit, which is commonly pronounced 𑀡𑁆*r*. As an equivalent of *d* it is found on *all* the large round copper coins of Apollodotus; and also in the name of Diomedes, where it is initial and inflected with the vowel *i*, thus 𐨟 *Di*, rendering the name of Diomedes very satisfactorily as Dïyamédasa 𐨟𐨫𐨡𐨣𐨯𐨭; hence we learn that

the second syllable of the name of Undopherras is *do*, the sloping stroke to the left downwards being the vowel *o*, with which the *d* is inflected; and precisely the same mark which is found to represent *o* in the name of Zöilus.

To the second letter therefore in the name of Undopherras, I have assigned the value of *d*, but as this letter occurs again as the representative of the Greek double PP, it must have another value, and be equivalent to an aspirated or double *r*; and this indeed is the precise sound which the Sanskrit cerebral ड *d* frequently has, as ड़ *r*. Here then we find that by giving to this letter *s*, the value of the cerebral ड *d* of the Sanskrit, it completely fulfils all the conditions in which it is found upon the coins; thus most satisfactorily establishing the correctness of the value which I have assigned to it, and at the same time leading to the discovery that the third letter of the Bactrian Pali name of Undopherras can be no other than *ph*, thus rendering the whole four characters literally Andophara.

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM.

(To be continued.)

Notes of a March from Brimhan Ghat on the Nerbudda, to Umurkuntuk, the Source of that River. By G. SPILSBURY, ESQ.

In the Asiatic Journal, for August 1834, appear some notes of mine from Tendookherie, across the valley of the Nerbudda south to the table land of the Puchmuree, or Mahadeo hills. In the following paper I propose to give the result of my observations from Brimhan Ghat to Umurkuntuk, the holy source of the Nerbudda river. The notes will comprise three different routes, and I have some hope that by the aid of the accompanying map, and the specimens forwarded for presentation to the Museum, that I shall have added a mite to the Geographical and Geological knowledge of this as yet little travelled portion of Central India.

In the construction of the map, for which I am indebted to the able pencil of Captain Reynolds, Madras Army, I have to remark that its correctness depends on the places written in Capitals, which are laid down from the map of these territories, furnished from the Surveyor General's office, on a scale of eight miles to an inch. The notes commence at Brimhan Ghat near Chawurputhur; on leaving which we struck off in a S.S.W. direction, crossing the valley of the Nerbudda, which yields but little variety to the geologist, being a fine rich black soil of decomposed trap, intermixed at the banks of most of the Nullas with calcareous tuffa.